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Fowlds, George

The drift towards anarchy, its cause and its cure...

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Drift Towards : Anarchy :

Its Cause and Its Cure.

THE CHURCH'S NEGLECTED DUTY

Chairman's Address to the Congregational Union of New Zealand, February 11th, 1914.

. . BY THE .

HON. GEO. FOWLDS

AUCKLAND.

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The Drift Towards Anarchy:

Its Cause and Its Cure

THE CHURCH'S NEGLECTED DUTY

HONOURED FATHERS AND BRETHREN,—

When the delegates attending the annual meetings of the Union in Timaru last February re-elected me to the position of Chairman of the Union, I was both surprised and sorry. I felt that the honour and the duty belonged by right to some of the other brethren who had not previously occupied the position. At that time I intended leaving shortly after the meetings for the Homeland, and but for the thought that I might have been of some service to our Churches by means of that visit, and that I would be able to return in time for these annual meetings, I would have declined the position. Circumstances which I was unable to control prevented me from getting away at the date I had anticipated, and now I find myself unfortunately compelled to be absent from the present meetings. One consolation I have is that the presence of our distinguished visitors from England, Dr. and Mrs. Adeney, will more than compensate for my absence. The Committee has decided that I am to leave my address from the chair to be read at the meetings, and with a deep sense of my own shortcomings I accept its decision, and leave behind me this imperfect utterance, which has been produced amidst much rush and worry.

When I last addressed you fifteen years ago, from this chair, I took as my subject "Progress Towards Unity." I then reviewed some of the evidences of progress being made towards unity in the religious, social, scientific, political, and international life of the world. On this occasion I feel impelled to take as my subject, "The Drift Towards Anarchy." I suppose it is natural, or at least usual, that as a man grows older he loses some of the buoyant optimism of youth, but I think that a calm survey of world movements to-day will convince you that, quite apart from any personal temperamental change which I may have undergone, there is ample reason for a feeling of apprehension regarding the immediate future of our western civilisation.

War, Hate, Anarchy, and Chaos,

if not quite synonymous terms, at least connote analogous conditions, and the world has had them all in a pretty full measure during recent years, and unfortunately still has them over a wide range. When I last addressed you the American war with Spain, undertaken for the ostensible purpose of liberating the Cuban people, was still in progress. Its baneful effects on the American people were only revealed at a later date. During the same year the British war against the Boers in South Africa was begun, and lasted for nearly three years, costing a fabulous amount in blood and treasure. I believe the verdict of the civilised world will be that both wars were unnecessary, that both were prompted by selfishness and greed on the part of a few interested people, and that both were promoted by a press campaign of exaggeration and mendacity. Both, indeed, might be designated monopolistic press wars. In both cases the people were misled and the worst passions of the human heart were stirred into activity, leaving behind a dreadful legacy of hatred and ill-will. In my judgment these two wars set back the hands on the clock of human progress by at least 25 years. It appeared for a time as if the result would be to displace the two English-speaking nations from the position of leadership of the great movement for the establishment of social justice and the realisation of the new and greater freedom.

In the case of America, the war spirit allowed the Government, with the apparent consent of a majority of the people, to trample under foot for a time the great ethical principle on which the Republic was founded, viz., that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Of course the Philipinos were not fit for self-government in the opinion of American Jingoes, neither were American colonists fitted for self-government in the opinion of King George and his advisers. The election of Woodrow Wilson as President of the United States, with the declared intention of granting self-government to the Philipine Islands and the partial liberation of the American people by the reduction of robber tariffs, gives a ray of hope that the great Republic has grown sick of wallowing in the mire of a military imperialism, and may once more

assume a position of leadership among the nations in the march towards the new freedom.

In Great Britain the erstwhile Radical, Mr. Chamberlain, in order to cover up his South African tracks, tried to induce the people of the Homeland to turn their backs on the fiscal light which they had seen and followed for so many years, and to lead them back into the miry clay of tariff taxes. That ill-used word, "Protection," has covered up a multitude of sins in the past, and still continues to hide from the eyes of multitudes the infamy of a system of taxation which involves

The Robbery of the Many in the Interests of a Few.

Well might Lowell exclaim: "There is more in names than most men dream of; and a lie may keep it's throne a whole age longer if it skulk behind the shield of some fair-sounding name."

A tariff, like war, is always prompted by the selfishness and greed of a few people, and promoted and maintained by a campaign of misrepresentation. It depends for its existence on a spirit of hatred against the so-called foreigner, and the ridiculously absurd idea that the people of another country, who desire to give you twenty shillings' worth of goods and take only fifteen shillings' worth of goods in payment, must be regarded as your natural enemies. It is in essence the very antithesis of the spirit of Christian Brotherhood, and it is as much opposed to sound economics as it is to the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount. Fortunately for the people of Britain, this great heresy, notwithstanding £1,000 dinners at noblemen's palaces, has so far failed to delude a majority of the people. With nations, as with individuals, if they deliberately turn their backs on the light of truth which they have seen, they are on the high road to destruction.

A few years later a further example of national anarchy was furnished by Austria in the unwarranted annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, in flagrant defiance of the most solemn treaty obligations. Next came Italy, with her costly and iniquitous war with Turkey and the annexation of Tripoli, followed closely by the most bloody war of modern times amongst the Balkan States. And the end of international friction is not yet in sight. All the great European nations, including our own Motherland, and also the United States of America, are engaged in a mad race for the increase of naval armaments. Germany, France, and Austria have quite recently increased the burdens of taxation and the sacrifice of time on their respective peoples for the purpose of adding to their land forces; while Lord Roberts and an active organisation in England are endeavouring to induce the British people to adopt a system of universal military training, in imitation of their continental neighbours.

The revolutions and counter-revolutions in China and Mexico, and the widespread unrest in our great Indian Empire, though marked by anarchy, may be taken as national struggles tending towards the larger freedom.

When we survey the internal affairs of our own Motherland we find the old Conservative party, which used to preach veneration and respect for law and order, and which claimed to be the bulwark of constitutional government, setting the constitution at naught in a frantic effort to preserve the unjust privileges of a class, and turning the mother of parliaments into a Donnybrook Fair. At the present time the leaders of the Tory party are openly preaching sedition and rebellion to the people of Ulster, and encouraging armed opposition to a law being passed by a substantial majority of the members of the Imperial Parliament. Apparently the Conservative idea is that submission to law and order is only a virtue when the laws have been passed by themselves. The constitution is only worthy of support so long as it can be used as a bulwark for the protection of the unjust privileges of their own order.

Then we have the Militant Suffragette Movement—one of the most remarkable developments of modern times. Highbred, cultured ladies intent on breaking every law, destroying property and making orderly meetings impossible, in order to secure the passing of another law which they desire. The absurdity of excluding women on the grounds of sex from the right to participate in the election of those who make the laws, which women as well as men have to obey, is such that any civilised country ought to be ashamed to maintain it in this 20th century; but the Suffragettes' method of securing redress is equally absurd and anarchical to the last degree.

Labour Movement: Active but Chaotic.

When we survey the industrial field we find confusion worse confounded. Everywhere throughout the civilised world we find the Labour movement active but chaotic. Unrest, anarchy, and chaos are apparent in every land. Even here, in God's Own Country, we have the most revolutionary and anarchistic doctrines being promulgated at street corners by I.W.W. orators, and being

disseminated through the country by means of pamphlets and newspapers. In their anxiety to redress undoubted grievances, these propagandists seem to have lost all sense of "right" and "wrong." Indeed, they glory in that fact. One of the leading writers of the I.W.W. movement, Mr. St. John, in a pamphlet entitled, "The I.W.W.: Its History, Structure, and Methods," under the heading "I.W.W. Tactics and Methods," declares that: "As a revolutionary organisation, the Industrial Workers of the World aims to use any and all tactics that will get the results sought with the least expenditure of time and energy. The tactics used are determined solely by the power of the organisation to make good in their use. The question of 'right' and 'wrong' does not concern us."

What the "results sought" are, is not made very plain—unless by the vague phrase, "the overthrow of the capitalist system!" To secure this result any means appear to be considered justifiable. And the experience of New Zealand seems to be that any means are held to be preferable to the constitutional method of altering, by the representatives of the people elected at the ballot box, the laws that affect the distribution of the products of labour. The practice of sabotage, striking, or loafing on the job, the burning of crops and barns, as well as the sympathetic or general strike, are openly suggested in the propaganda of the I.W.W. as means of getting the "results sought" with the least expenditure of time and energy. One can understand the advocacy of such means in a country under the control of an autocratic government, where the people are rigorously excluded from any real share in the government, but surely in a democratic country like New Zealand, where every man and every woman has one vote, and one vote only, the advocates of such a gospel must be in need of mental treatment.

Recent events in New Zealand have revealed the fact that even in this country, with all its experimental labour legislation, there is a considerable and energetic section of workers whose minds are very chaotic regarding the cause and the cure of labour's wrongs.

What About the Churches?

In the midst of all this turmoil, unrest, and anarchy, what about the Churches? I don't propose to dwell at any length on questions of theological controversy, although there, as elsewhere, there has been a considerable amount of unrest and confusion. Amongst students of theology the stage of doubt and criticism had been reached some time previous to my last address. The results of that disquieting process have been gradually filtering through the minds of the mass of the people during recent years, being brought into the consciousness of the common people largely through the utterances of Mr. R. J. Campbell, of the City Temple, London. In this domain, however, I am of opinion that the constructive stage has been more definitely reached than it has in the domain of sociology or politics, national or international. In many respects the Churches seem to be drifting out of touch with the great mass of mankind, and are in danger of becoming a negligible factor in the life of the world.

One very disheartening feature of the world-wide labour movement at the present time is its anti-Christian spirit, and the antagonism which many of its leaders are developing towards organised Christianity. It is quite true that many of the best and wisest labour leaders, both in Great Britain and New Zealand, are men deeply imbued with the spirit of Christianity, many of them active workers in Churches and Sunday Schools. Indeed, it is true that many of them have received their equipment for platform work by their training and experience as lay preachers. At the same time, I think it must be admitted that a very large proportion of the men who to-day are getting the ear of the workers are not only anti-Church, but anti-Christian. Whether rightly or wrongly, the impression seems to be gaining ground amongst the workers of the world that the organised Christian Church, if not actively hostile to the aims and ideals of labour, is, to say the least of it, apathetic. This ought not to be. The spirit of Christianity is the only solvent of industrial, social, or economic problems. Of course the Christian Church can have no association with, or tolerance for, a propaganda which unblushingly boasts that the question of "right" or "wrong" has no meaning, or which inculcates such pernicious doctrines as "sabotage" or "barn burning." But the perversity of false labour leaders is no excuse for indolence or indifference on the part of Christian ministers or laymen.

Pulpit, Politics, and People.

I may be told that the Church is a spiritual institution, and that the pulpit is no place for politics. I agree that partisan party politics are unfit for the pulpit. They are equally unfit for the workshop, the home, or for Parliament. But, unless we give a new connotation to the term politics, there are political questions constantly arising for the consideration of the people which the Church ought to give a pronouncement on, unless it is prepared to treat a large portion of

the scriptures of the Old and New Testaments as a dead letter. The Church should be prepared to take a definite stand on all questions of morality, and at bottom all political questions are moral questions. Not so many years ago the temperance question was tabooed by many Churches as a political question. To-day most of the Churches have fallen into line in fighting this monster of iniquity. And it is well for the Church that it should be in the fighting line against the drink curse, because if that curse is not speedily removed it will destroy the Church and society in one fell swoop.

What about the Mosaic land laws? Do they come within the definition of the term "politics?" Does the teaching of the Sermon on the Mount cast a reflection on any of our party politicians or monopolists? And, if so, should all reference to the precepts of that glorious utterance be eliminated from our pulpits because they infringe the domain of politics? Christianity must take cognizance of everything which affects the life of man, or it will lose its hold on the people and degenerate into a pietistic social coterie.

Drifted Out of Touch.

That the Churches have in recent years drifted out of touch with the people cannot be gainsaid. In a book recently published by the Rev. Henry Carter, entitled, "The Church and the New Age," the drift is shown to be quite alarming. He makes an elaborate examination of Church statistics, which show a remarkable break taking place about the year 1906. He admits the difficultiy of measuring Church life by statistics: "Hearts cannot be read as heads are counted." But when this has been said the position revealed by the statistics of the several Churches deserves very serious consideration. The Roman Catholic Church in England publishes no statistics, and owing to a change of method in computing Church membership made by the Anglican Church during the decade 1901-1910, with which he deals, the figures from that denomination are not easily comparable or conclusive. Taking the eight largest denominations of those usually designated the Free Churches, viz., Wesleyan, Congregational, Baptist, Primitive Methodist, United Methodist, Calvinistic Methodist, Presbyterian, and the Society of Friends, he finds a significant break in the year 1905-1906. In the first five years of the decade 1901-1910 all the Churches named had a substantial increase every year in the number of Sunday School scholars, with the single exception of the Calvinistic Methodist Church, which reported a decrease in the year 1902-1903; the total increase of all the Churches for the five-year period being 231,975. In the following five years nearly all the afore-mentioned Churches reported every year a substantial decrease in the number of scholars. The total decrease for the second five-year period was 127,373, without the figures for the Congregational and Baptist Churches for the last of the five years; these figures not being available at the time the table was compiled. The figures regarding membership for the same Churches give a very similar result. In the first five years of the decade, every one of the Churches, without exception, had an increase in membership, the total increase for the five years being 229,772. In the second five all but two of the eight Churches had a decrease in membership, the total increase of these two being only 2,542. Three out of the eight Churches had a substantial decrease every year, the total decrease of the membership in the eight Churches during the five years being 40,615, without including the figures from the Congregational and Baptist Churches for the last of the five years. An examination of some church attendance censuses which have been taken reveals a similar drift of the people away from the Churches. For example, censuses taken in the Everton district of Liverpool give the following results:—1881, 40½ per cent. of church sittings occupied; 1891, 31½ per cent. of church sittings occupied; 1902, 25 per cent. of church sittings occupied; 1908, 12½ per cent. of church sittings occupied.

"A Distinct Break" and Its Causes.

I have never before seen a table of statistics which gave such a distinct break as do the two tables submitted by Mr. Carter regarding Sunday School scholars and membership of these eight Churches for the decade 1901-10, and it behoves all concerned to institute a thorough and exhaustive investigation into the cause or causes which have produced such a lamentable result. Mr. Carter himself attempts such an investigation, and after enquiring into the effects before and after 1905-6 of such movements as the Welsh revival, with the reaction which followed it, and the theological controversy which raged round the utterances of the Rev. Mr. Campbell, he rejects them as causes which provide an adequate explanation, and he arrives at the conclusion that it is in some way associated with the great social and political uprising of the people as manifested in the general election of 1906, when, in addition to the triumphant return to Parliament of a Liberal Government, there appeared within the historic walls of Westminster a compact Labour Party about 50 strong. Confirmation of the foregoing theory is to be found in the fact that during the ten-year period under review there has been a marked development of such movements as the adult school, the P.S.A., and the Brotherhood and Sisterhood organisations, all of these societies having a distinctively social as well as religious side to their activities. All these facts tend to confirm my contention that, rightly or wrongly, an impression is growing in the minds of the workers that the Churches are in alliance with the holders of wealth and privilege. This impression ought to be combated by the Churches and removed if possible. The teaching of Jesus stands for justice and human brotherhood. The Fatherhood of God revealed by Jesus Christ implies an impartial equality of opportunity for all the Father's children. That equality of opportunity is not available to-day, and the Church must stand condemned if it takes no action to make it a reality.

The Church and Labour.

Any antagonism between the Church and the labour movement must arise either (1) on account of the Church's departure from the Christianity of Christ, or (2) on account of labour's departure from the principles of justice and brotherhood. I am of opinion that both causes are at work. Some labour men can be found who prate about justice and brotherhood, and who in the same breath advocate proposals at once unjust, unbrotherly, and anti-social. At the same time, there are many working men with a passion for justice and brotherhood who believe that the Churches are acquiescing in the present social order which they know is unjust to them and to their fellow-workers. It is this latter class that I should like to see convinced that the Church is in full sympathy with the just claims of labour, and that Church members are willing to assist in securing such reforms as will bring about the establishment of social justice. On the other hand, I am convinced that the Church has largely departed from the Christianity of Christ. The craven fear of trenching on the political field has paralysed its power. Take the protection fallacy to which I have already referred. Is there a Christian minister, who has given any study to the subject, who believes that the policy of discouraging the trading of the people of one country with the people of any other country by means of restrictive tariffs is in accordance with the will of God or the teaching of Scripture, or that it can in any way minister to the welfare of a people? I do not believe that any considerable number of such ministers could be found, and yet I never hear of any minister, either in public or private, contending for the freedom of man in the matter of trade.

The witness which the followers of Jesus Christ were to bear was of a threefold nature, viz., "The Prophetic Witness," "The Healing Witness," and the "Witness of Salvation." The first witness represented by the prophet or preacher; the second witness represented by the priest, or minister, or healer; the third witness represented by King, Lord, or Saviour. The "Prophetic Witness" involved (1) a religious interpretation of history, (2) an unsparing condemnation of contemporary evil, (3) the building up of the Church as a Christian Brotherhood emblematic of the universal brotherhood of man involved in the Fatherhood of of God. The "Healing Witness" involved ministration to the sick and sorrowful of mind and body. That duty is now left mainly to the doctors and faith-healers. The "Witness to Salvation" involved the bringing of the penitent to the Cross, where forgiveness of sin was to be obtained. What a contrast between the present and the time when Jesus walked the earth! In the time of Christ and His immediate disciples the one great blasphemy was the claim that Jesus had power to forgive all sin and to cleanse from its power. To-day the forgiveness of sin is accepted by all the Churches as the supreme, if not the only, mission of the Christ. In the time of Christ the "Prophetic Witness" and the "Healing Witness" were universally admitted. To-day the prophet has almost disappeared from our Churches, and the healer is almost afraid to reveal himself.

The Crying Need of the Church To-day

is the prophet who can supply the religious interpretation of history, and point the way to a new social order which will make possible a fuller and nobler development of human life—the prophet who will unsparingly condemn the contemporary evils which degrade our civilisation, and which, if not removed, will ultimately destroy it. Nations and civilisations, in order to endure, must adapt themselves to the developing needs of human life in the same manner that individuals must secure harmonious adaptation to their environment in order that they may live. The failure to secure this harmonious adjustment is responsible for the universal anarchy and chaos which we see in the religious, social, and political life of man to-day; and the Church must accept its fair share of the blame. How is it that there is no anarchy or chaos in the lower animal kingdom? Each race persists so long as circumstances permit. Content to live under natural laws, it satisfies its natural

wants, and stops at that. The human sub-kingdom, ever since the dawn of civilisation and the evolution of the idea of morality, shows one civilisation after another disappearing in anarchy and chaos. Why? Man, the unsatisfied animal, makes artificial by-laws which infringe natural law—result, chaos! This has happened over and over again. "Assyria, Greece, Rome, Carthage, where are they?" All history tells: "Where nations towered that were not just, Lo! the skulking wild fox scratches in a little heap of dust."

One great lesson we mortals have to learn is that the social and political life of man is under the governance of Divine and universal law quite as much as is the physical world in which we live. The reign of law is now pretty generally recognised in the physical world, and also in the other portions of the great animal kingdom to which man belongs. It is also recognised to some extent in the spiritual world. But in man's relation to his mother earth, and in his relations to his brother man, most people speak and act as if the Great Creator and Lawgiver had overlooked that portion of His great domain; that He had forgotten or neglected to make provision for the needs of mankind living in a civilised society! They seem to think that unless man were able to evolve out of his fertile imagination all sorts of artificial laws and regulations for the guidance of society, the result would be universal chaos. Quite the contrary is the case. Most of the ills which afflict human society spring out of man-made laws which conflict with natural laws and justice. What we have to do is not to make laws, but to discover the natural laws which God hath made, and then to bring our human institutions into harmony with those natural laws. Human society, to endure, must be based on **justice,** and it is well that it should be so. However powerful and apparently successful, society is on its way to anarchy and chaos if it supports injustice. I know of no stronger argument than this for belief in the Divine.

But, more than this, justice is the only possible basis for the development of the Divine side of man's nature. Love is

The Ultimate Law of Life.

It is life, it is God. To say that God is love does not help us much, because the term "God" is almost unthinkable. We must reverse it and say, "Love is God." Then all that is good in religion or Christianity comes back to us at once. Has not some poet said that man's highest endowment is "The love of love, the hate of hate, the scorn of scorn;" or, as Dr. Giles, one of our New Zealand poets, better expresses it:—

"We cannot find out God and call him Love,
But we can seek out Love and crown him God;
So may we still live on with heaven above,
So tread the path that all the saints have trod."

That expresses to me a very illuminating thought—but we have profaned the name of Love, by almost always associating with it the idea of sex-love. There is no sex in soul. Tennyson, in "In Memoriam," expresses love for his dead friend as tender and as deep as any human attraction or affection can be. When Professor Bickerton, of Christchurch, suggested the possibility of the re-birth of fresh universes from the impact of dead suns, it seemed to me the most ghastly atheistic idea I had ever heard of. Yet what is it but the lowest form of attraction, which in itself is love, the dominant vital principle of all life, which from the fire-mist of the nebula evolves the Christ Ideal?

The "love" we need is the universal "peace and goodwill toward men," proclaimed long ago, but still unrealised, because its true source and meaning are still unrecognised. Our loves and our attractions necessarily govern our thoughts and actions, if we let them. It is the fact that we have control of them that makes us men. All men love justice, all men have some conception of the moral law and admit its force, yet we support institutions which flagrantly violate both, and therefore we are on our way to anarchy and chaos, unless we speedily mend our ways. All human institutions are more or less imperfect, and the natural result is that strong and unscrupulous men take advantage of their imperfections in order to aggrandise themselves at the expense of their fellows.

In the process of developing society, institutions, which in their beginnings were either harmless or helpful, come to antagonise the well-being of man, and must be destroyed, or they would destroy society. Age, and the very fact that they lend themselves to the exploitation of the many by the few, give to many institutions an atmosphere of respectability long after they have become a menace to human well-being. To tolerate any institution, however old, and however respectable, for long after it has ceased to minister to human well-being, means breeding anarchy—to tolerate it indefinitely, will mean the destruction of civilisation. Such an institution in past history was chattel slavery. Such an institution in the present is the licensed liquor traffic.

The Root Cause of Labour Problems.

But an institution more prolific of evil in the world to-day is that which enables the private appropriation of rent under the guise of modern landlordism. In the beginnings of society, when primitive man was emerging from a state of tribal communism, I have no doubt that private land-ownership served a useful purpose. Even under the feudal system, with the paternal recognition of duties as well as rights on the part of the feudal lords, I think it may have had its advantages; but under modern conditions, gathering to itself as it does all the material advantages of an advancing civilisation, it is evil and only evil. It is the root cause of labour problems. The private appropriation of rent, involving as it does the payment of interest and profits beyond the just reward of service for service, is the main cause of all the anarchy and chaos of which I have been speaking. Until the social values created by the community are taken by the community and used for community purposes, and all that rightly belongs to the individual is left sacredly to the individual, we cannot have order and harmony in society.

The problem we have to solve is how to secure social equality. The problem our fathers had to solve was how to secure political equality. They faced the question of their day and partially answered it. We must finish their work, and resolutely set to work and solve the problem of social equality. Political equality must lead to social equality. Social equality does not mean that we shall all be the same height and weight, the same in intelligence and morality, or possess the same wealth, as some foolish people suppose. Social equality simply means equal social rights—the establishment of fair play between man and man in society. Liberty of thought and freedom of speech. Free men—that is the victory won for us by our fathers. Free land—that is the victory we must win for ourselves. Land is the source of all wealth. We all live on and from the land. If a section of the community is allowed to control the land, it controls the life, the labour, and the liberty of the people.

Make Room at the Father's Table.

The land is the great storehouse provided by the Common Father for the support and comfort and well-being of the common family. The earth is the table of the Heavenly Father, and we want to make room, and equal room, at the Father's table for all the Father's children. How is it to be done? By evolution or by revolution? By peaceful adjustment or by bloody conflict? The answer to these questions cannot be long delayed. The wonderful developments of science during the last sixty years in the application of steam and machinery to production has introduced a new factor into the life of the world. Land value, like gravitation, tends to attract to itself all the material advantages that arise from new inventions applied to production, distribution, and exchange; while the needs of an increasing normal population enable the owners of the earth to extract an ever-increasing proportion of the products of labour for the right to live and work on their property.

Look at the position in our own country. In twenty years the people of this country have increased the unimproved land value by no less than £140,000,000. This increased land value is in addition to the value created by the expenditure of labour and capital in making improvements. It is a social value created by society, and rightly belonging to society. Yet the whole of it has passed into the possession of a portion of the people, and most of it (£126,000,000 out of the £140,000,000) has passed into the possession of not more than 22,500 families out of the million people in New Zealand. If this socially-created wealth had been collected and used for social purposes, in which all the people could have participated, it would have been equivalent to an increase of wages of £35 a year to every family in the land. It is due mainly to ignorance that this enormous iniquity is allowed to continue. Self-interest on the part of some tends to blind them to the disastrous effects of a system which has grown up with them, and which has worked quite satisfactorily from their point of view. This is a moral universe, and what is morally wrong can never be politically right. Has the Church no word to speak regarding this great moral iniquity? All that we require is that

The Mosaic Land Laws Should be Brought Up-to-date.

That the spirit of the Mosaic code should be applied to the institution of land ownership, bringing it into harmony with the needs of mankind to-day.

It is estimated that when Persia perished 1 per cent. of the people owned all the land; Egypt went down when 2 per cent. owned 97 per cent. of all the wealth; Babylon died when 2 per cent. owned all the wealth; and Rome expired when 1,800 men possessed all the then known world. We are drifting steadily toward a like condition throughout the civilised world to-day. In 1889 Thomas G. Shearman, in the "Forum," declared that "within thirty years the United

States will be substantially owned by less than one in 500 of the male population." That prophecy has been practically fulfilled. Chas. B. Spahr, in his "Distribution of Wealth," says that "one-eighth of the families in America receive more than half of the aggregate income," and that "the richest 1 per cent. receives a larger income than the poorest 50 per cent." That condition is rapidly becoming true of nearly every country, and mainly through the private appropriation of rent. It is estimated that one family, of which John D. Rockefeller is the head, possesses wealth to the amount of one billion dollars. Think of it. If Mr. Rockefeller had begun at the birth of Christ, making a dollar a minute day and night, and had accumulated it all, it would have taken him till the year 1912 to amass a thousand million dollars. Social conditions that make such accumulations possible are a disgrace alike to Christianity and civilisation. Such conditions stir up discontent, class hatred, and bitterness. They breed socialism and anarchy. They foster those elements and forces which bring on violent revolutions. They imply, not a dry rot, but a fermenting, festering rot in the body politic. What we need is

A New Emancipation Movement

to free the great mass of mankind from industrial slavery, to get the landowners, and the monopolists generally, off the people's backs. Merely to make their slavery more bearable will do no permanent good.

Is the Church unable or unwilling to lend a hand in denouncing this monster of iniquity which, like a canker, is eating the heart out of our civilisation? The prophets of old time would have done so. Cannot you imagine them calling out: "Woe unto you, ye monopolists of God's earth! Woe unto you, ye exploiters of the poor!"

If the Church in its corporate capacity is unable to take any action, surely this is the work of Church members who have imbibed the Master's spirit, and who have learnt the Master's teaching. To all such I make an earnest appeal to come over and help us.

Knowledge is the first essential to reform. I appeal to every Christian man and woman to study the arguments of those who contend that the private appropriation of rent is the main cause of the anarchy and chaos which abounds to-day; nay, more, that it is the main obstacle to the coming of the kingdom. You must know that most of the men who make this claim are men of at least average ability, that they are men of probity, and that they have made a study of the subject whereon they speak. Will you not also study the subject and help to solve the problem? Not to solve it, and solve it rightly and quickly, means death to society.

Revolution is in the air. It is being proclaimed throughout this fair land, and throughout every other so-called civilised land. In the memoirs of Sully we find this statement: "The revolutions that come to pass in great states are not the result of chance or of popular caprice. . . . As for the populace, it is never from a passion for attack that it rebels, but from impatience of suffering." These words were true when Sully wrote them, they are true to-day.

Think, then, how near to revolution we were in this country only a few months ago, and how close to revolution they have been in other parts of the world within the past year or two. And remember that "Force is no remedy"—that "Nothing is ever settled until it is settled right." Although force is necessary to suppress a riotous mob, and although force may appear for a time to suppress an industrial upheaval, nothing but

The Establishment of Social Justice

can secure the harmonious development of human society. That justice we have not yet attained in New Zealand or in any other country.

In conclusion, let me say that to some of you my words may seem unduly pessimistic. It is not pessimism to point out dangers, and at the same time to point out a way of escape from such dangers. I have tried to do both. I am not really pessimistic regarding the future. I believe that "God's in His heaven," and that "all's right with the world." But God requires the co-operation of the sons of men in order that His love and justice may abound on the earth. I am confident that my appeal for your help and co-operation will not be in vain—

Love is and was my King and Lord,
And will be, tho' as yet I keep
Within his court on earth, and sleep
Encompassed by his faithful guard,
And hear at times a sentinel
Who moves about from place to place,
And whispers to the worlds of space
In the deep night, that all is well.

And all is well, tho' faith and form
Be sunder'd in the night of fear;
Well roars the storm to those that hear
A deeper voice across the storm,
Proclaiming social truth shall spread
And justice, ev'n tho' thrice again
The red fool-fury of the Seine
Should pile her barricades with dead.

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